1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 Beni Amart, all Beni Urriaghel but Ajdir, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Inhanahan, Iherrasen, and Bured.

Of these types of footwear tradition has it that the crude *airkasen* were the earliest and were formerly worn over a much wider area than at present;[1] and that sandals, of both palmetto and *halfa*, were introductions from outside.

In recent times Arab slippers with turn-under heels, called by the Riffians *iherkusen*, have become somewhat popular in the Rif. They are an inferior type of footwear, owing to the difficulty of keeping them on without shuffling. Of imported shoes the only type which has become at all popular is the American sneaker, or tennis-shoe, which has found many users, especially in the east around Melilla and in the region of Ajdir. French army brogans are sometimes worn by men in military service, but are generally cut away at the heels so that they can be taken off without trouble when entering a house.

Beside these normal types of footwear, and their modern rivals, one finds two specialized types used only in rainy weather:

ikabkaben, clogs, are made from single pieces of wood, flat, shaped to the foot, and carved so as to have two cross-props beneath, running at right angles to the axis of the foot, one beneath the ball of the foot and the other under the heel. These clogs are attached with straps made of dried bull's penis, after the same style as the attachment of the western or palmetto type of sandal. When used by women this attachment is thought unseemly, and a piece of cowhide is nailed across the front to serve as a toe.

mauus, stilts, are made of single pieces of wood, chosen so that a fork low down on the shaft will serve as a foot rest. They are worn in wet weather and in snow, and are used as playthings by the children in all weather. The stilts and clogs have an identical distribution: Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Temjunt, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, and Inhanahan.

In addition to these types of footwear, a peculiar form of legwear, found in the west, may be mentioned. The women of the region of Sheshawen and of the Ghomara wear leather leggings made of stiff hide, tied around the calves and ankles with straps. (See plate 26.) These are worn to protect the legs from the brush, for women spend a great deal of time on the mountains cutting brush for charcoal, a task which in the Rif properly belongs to men. Curiously enough, women who wear these go barefoot. These leggings are found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama (formerly Taghsuth).

TATTOOING

304 582 Tattooing in the Rif is practiced upon women as a prerequisite for marriage, and, less frequently, for the same purpose upon men. When a girl is sure that she is to be married, that is, when all arrangements for her wedding have been made, her family calls in an old woman of the same *awar*, or sociological family, who is proficient in the art; if there is no such old woman available one is called in from outside. If the artist is related to the victim no fee is paid, otherwise a small sum is given her by the girl's parents.

304 The old woman collects lamp-black from the bottoms of cooking pots, and mixes this with juice squeezed from the leaves of broad-beans. She sets to work with a knife and needle, working both by pricking and incising the skin. She works fairly rapidly so that the wounds will all be healed on the final day of the wedding. It is considered shameful for

[1] Marmol (chap. 79) says that the Beni Bu Shibet wore these buskins.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

619 621 unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *soins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemseth* (plural *thikhemsin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhemseth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

619 Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabitch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabitch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gsennaya. Those of Galiya are Masuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gsennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imsdurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amsauru and Tizi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

565 563 582 463 The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

565 563 463

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

[3] The chief quality of this class, which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TATTOOING DESIGNS

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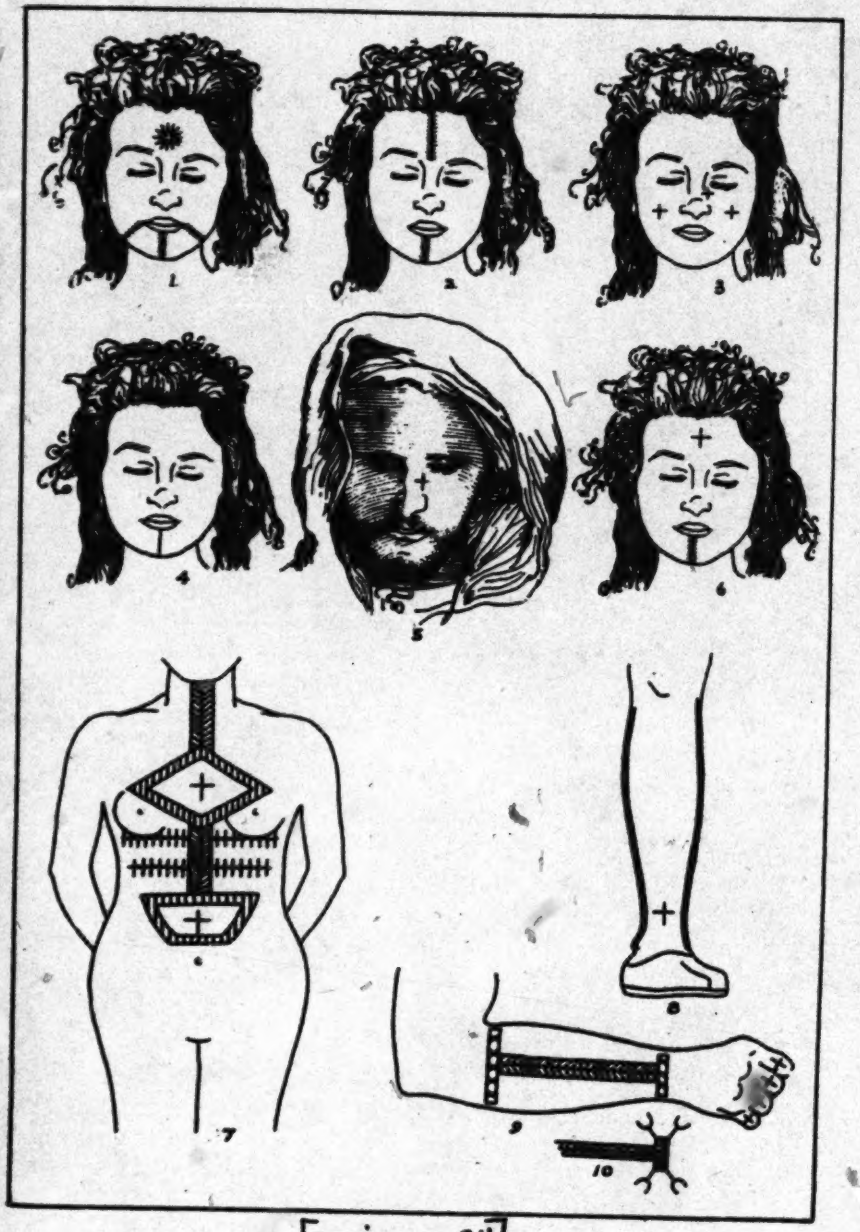

[facing p. 94]

I: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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[845]

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.

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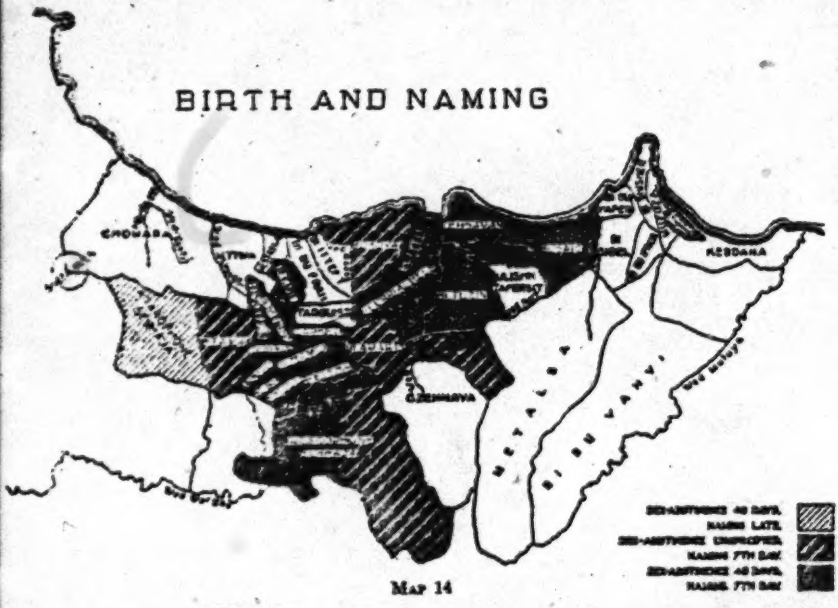

MAP 14

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Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

844

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekau*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

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This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

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1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 852 875 gives it back. The *akowani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two; among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to [836] casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 584 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at fourteen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married [805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *seins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

596 the essential features of the *jājghū* as an extended family group but its importance in the total social structure is far overshadowed by a larger and more durable unit called *thārfīqth* (pl. *thārfīqīn*).

618 This grouping, a form of clan-community, is an amplification of the *jājghū* by inclusion of the families of *all* the sons of the original founder-ancestor, not just of one of them (which constitutes the *jājghū*). This ancestor is apt to be at least three or four ascending generations removed from the speaker, if not more; he is the speaker's furthest remembereb ascendant in the male line and the man from whom the *thārfīqth* takes its name. Within the *thārfīqth*, the various *ijujgha* form its componet parts. Thus, in the *thārfīqth* of Iḥaddūshen or Aith Ḥaddūsh in the village of of Aith Mūsā u 'Amar (Aith 'Alī), the component *ijūjghā* are the families of 'Alī, Sa'īd, Muḥammādi, Muḥand and 'Abdallāh, all sons of Ḥaddūsh, the common ancestor of all; in the *thārfīqth* of Aith Sa'īd in the same village the *ijūjgha* are the families of Ḥmid, 'Aisā and 'Abdallāh. A *thārfīqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living member; it may number some 200 living people, distributed throught ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *ḥauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf*, «head») are the elders of each *thārfīqth*. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfīqīn* in one village to be related to each other.

582 [618] [596] Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* and endogamy within the *thārfīqth*. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfīqīn* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf*), which will be given extensive treatment further on. Weddings usually take place when the boy is sixteen to seventeen years old and the girl fourteen to fifteen.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfīqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlīs are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jārīs, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly azwar), or «veins», and ighs, or «bones», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Gīznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
171 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
171 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.
[171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and
562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of <u>insurrection</u>
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a <u>zawiya</u>
228 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain
[171] to the <u>jma'th</u>, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather
627 through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
171 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin <u>ukil</u> (legal
562

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

685 692

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

682 [619]

662 623

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

'azizi, pl. aith 'azizi, father's brother), marry the daughter or daughters in question. The result is, of course, that if they do so, they wind up with the daughters' share in any case. However, although father's brother's daughter marriage does occur in the Rif, it is not the rule, and this is because the institution of shuf 'ath (called shafa'a by Berbers in the Central Atlas, and referring to agnates priority rights over both land and women, especially fathers' brothers' daughters) in the Rif applies to land only and not to women. Indeed, there is no single form of preferential marriage, and most people believe in marrying "further away" than their parallel cousins. As, on the other hand, parallel cousin marriage is the norm in the Central Atlas, the same institution there (where r-waratha are termed imkusa) is more effective in depriving women of their share than it is in the Rif, where conditions per se in the latter area are considerably less favorable to such deprivation. The crux of the matter, perhaps, is this: that the property of a man who leaves no sons, despite what other heirs or offspring he may have, is always divided up among these heirs (and here, in practice, is where daughters tend to be left in the cold, even though informants invariably say that they get their part), while on the other hand, if there is a single surviving son, no matter if he is a tiny baby, the patrimony stays pro indiviso.

15--What Blanco seems to be getting at here is that men rather than women inherit and purchase property, or acquire it by right of conquest, and that therefore property and its administration rests exclusively in male hands. The contrast is effective, because such movable property which is involved in the work and everyday tasks of women (i.e. pottery, chickens, eggs, etc.) does belong to them, and is not touched by men. Men, for example, may perfectly easily sell chickens or eggs in the market, and they often do so; but they invariably turn the proceeds over to their wives, who have stayed away from the market as good women should (although they may go to the women's market two days later) and because of this have asked their husbands to do these things for them.

16--From his name, a Berber himself, possibly from the Sus (as his final sobriquet would suggest), but more likely from the Ilimshan subclan of the southern Ait 'Atta, the so-called 'Iqibliyen" of the southern slope of the Central Atlas. These facts are indicated in the first and second point-of-origin designations Aqibli Amshali, the last mentioned probably being a metathesis of Alimshi, an Arabized singular form of Ilimshan.

17--The 'ashura refers to the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim year, Muharram (itself called l-'Ashur in Morocco), and commemorates the martyrdom of the Prophet's two grandsons, Hasan and Husayn. It is also, in Morocco, the day when almsgiving (zakah or 'ashur) to the poor is legally enjoined; this act is, indeed, along with the profession of faith (Ashhadu an la ilaha illa 'llah wa Muhammad al-rasuluY'llah, "I testify that there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God"), prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five arkan al-din, "pillars of religion", or qawa'id al-Islam, "customs of Islam".

are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or descendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

565 582 792 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a solid social class in the Rif because of the large and economically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists [556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means. Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked propensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a 556 565 582 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers. They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people, the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister, mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted with anyone inside or outside the dchar.[1] Within any one dharfiqth

[114] [1] Murdock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
565 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects
582 from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

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582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me
[829] with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

178 611 602 578 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quarrels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matrilineal lines.

121 611 [571] I think that the principle of unilineality is not as important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindustrial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 584 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many nonindustrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely consulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he stremuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] [421] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

584 that the following factors are evaluated in each case.

581 Advantages in marrying a relative are:

582 1. You don't fight over whose family is superior.

2. You know the girl beforehand and have a fair idea of what sort of a person you are getting.

3. It is a simpler property arrangement.

4. Your family already knows the girl, presumably likes her, and there is no problem of an outsider coming in and being picked upon by the women of the household.

5. If a husband is fighting with his wife, the common family relatives will pressure him into treating the woman better in order to decrease the possibility of divorce.

On the other hand, there are a countervailing series of factors which discourage marriage to a relative:

1. It is harder to be in love with or be attracted sexually by a woman with whom you have grown up and whom you regard as a sister.

2. It is socially and economically advantageous to spread out one's contacts through alliances with non-relatives.

3. With an outsider, a non-related wife, the husband has more power because his wife does not have any natural allies with the household or the family.

4. Although property arrangements are more complicated, there is a greater possibility of bringing additional property into the family with an outside wife than there is with a marriage within the family.

581 While such exchange as emerges from marriage defies the
571 making of pronouncements about the guiding principle behind alliance in purely structural terms, it does expose the factor that the distribution of human resources is influenced by both social and economic calculation of a given situation.

584 Negotiations are always begun on the side of the prospective groom. No father would attempt to initiate negotiations

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grams has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grams).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.